

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MANILA 10416 161223Z

53

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 035750

R 160714Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7546

S E C R E T MANILA 10416

STADIS//////////

EXDIS

FOR HABIB, HUMMEL AND MILLER FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS: ARTICLE XIX

REF: (A) STATE 173839, (B) MANILA 10353

1. REF A ASKED ME WHAT MOVES OTHER THAN QUID MIGHT PRODUCE SATISFACTORY PHILIPPINE REACTIONS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IN REF B, I LISTED SOME STEPS WE MIGHT TAKE IN THAT DIRECTION.

2. THERE IS, OF COURSE, A MORE SENSITIVE AND VERY TRICKLY AREA WHICH COULD HAVE A MAJOR EFFECT UPON OUR AGREEMENT. THIS AREA CONCERNS THE ACTIONS THE U.S. CONGRESS MIGHT TAKE IN ITS RESOLUTIONS APPROVING THE AGREEMENT. IN THE SPANISH PRECEDENT, THE U.S. SENATE PASSED A RESOLUTION URGING THE EARLY RETURN OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN. GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE CAN EXPECT BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS TO BE MORE URGENT AND MORE VOCAL WITH RESPECT TO THE PHILIPPINES.

3. MARCOS WILL, OF COURSE, BE MOST SENSITIVE TO WHATEVER ACTION THE CONGRESS MAY TAKE. INDEED, IF THE CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS ARE TOO HARSH, THEY COULD CAST A CONSIDERABLE

SECRET

PAGE 02 MANILA 10416 161223Z

PALL OVER THE WHOLE EXERCISE. I DON'T THINK HE WOULD BE

PREPARED TO RENOUNCE THE WHOLE DOCUMENT (AND A SUBSTANTIAL QUID) JUST BECAUSE HIS PRIDE HAS BEEN WOUNDED BY A CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION. BUT I DO THINK A SHARP RESOLUTION COULD JAUNDICE THE EXECUTION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

4. THERE ARE TWO WAYS WE CAN HANDLE THIS. ONE WAY WOULD BE TO PERMIT EVENTS TO TAKE THEIR COURSE AND LET THE CONGRESS CALL THE TIME. THE OTHER WAY WOULD BE FOR THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO ACT AS A BROKER BETWEEN MARCOS AND THE CONGRESS IN ORDER TO GET A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION. THE OBVIOUS WAY FOR THIS TO OCCUR WOULD BE FOR MARCOS, AT TIME AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, TO MAKE STATEMENT CONCERNING HIS INTENTION TO RETURN PHILIPPINES TO DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES. THIS STATEMENT COULD, IN TURN, BE ACKNOWLEDGED BY CONGRESS, WHICH WOULD WELCOME ITS PURPORT AND URGE ITS SPEEDY EXECUTION.

5. IT IS MY JUDGMENT THAT MARCOS WOULD BE WILLING TO PAY SOMETHING IN THE WAY OF SUBSTANCE WITH RESPECT TO CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT IF WE ARE PREPARED TO BROKER THIS MATTER WITH THE CONGRESS. THEREFORE, I REGARD IT AS A POTENTIAL LEVER FOR IMPROVING THE CURRENT PHILIPPINE TERMS.

6. IF IT IS TO BE USED, I WOULD STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT THE SECRETARY UNDERTAKE TO RAISE IT DIRECTLY WITH MARCOS DURING HIS PUTATIVE TRIP HERE. HE COULD INDICATE THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE SUCH AN EFFORT PROVIDED THE AGREEMENT IS SATISFACTORY IN ALL RESPECTS AND PROVIDED MARCOS WILL MAKE THE STATEMENT ON WHICH THE CONGRESS CAN HANG ITS RESOLUTION. THE U.S. WOULD, OF COURSE, WISH TO CONSULT ON THE EXACT TEXT OF THE AFORESAID MARCOS STATEMENT.

7. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COLLECTIVE REACTION.  
SULLIVAN

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY BASE AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 JUL 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976MANILA10416  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760274-1029  
**From:** MANILA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760751/aaaabsig.tel  
**Line Count:** 97  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** STADIS, EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS, EXDIS  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 173839, 76 MANILA 10353  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <03 JUN 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 SEP 2004 by BoyleJA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS: ARTICLE XIX  
**TAGS:** MARR, RP, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006